



KNOWLEDGE . . . LIBERTY . . . UTILITY . . . REPRESENTATION . . . RESPONSIBILITY.

VOL. I.

PHILADELPHIA, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1834.

NO. 38.

REVIEW.

EDUCATION—No. X.

(CONTINUED.)

LECTURES ON POPULAR EDUCATION, Delivered to the *Edinburg Association for procuring Instruction in Useful and Entertaining Science*, in April and November, 1833, &c. By GEORGE COMBE. First American Edition—with Additions by the Author. Boston: Marsh & Co. 1834.

We cannot avoid remarking, that however ingenious and true is the exemplification of *analysis*, which has been given from Condillac, it is adapted rather for minds already well prepared, rather than to the measure of those minds which stand in need of plain and precise knowledge. The style is *too learned*, if we may so express it, and even in the mode of ascertaining an exact knowledge of the whole, by an examination of the parts which compose it, there is a deficiency of particularity, or a too great generality, when minuteness and distinctness should be above all things regarded.

We make these remarks on *Condillac*, for we admire what he says, and his method of elucidation, as it is irresistible, only to observe, that the METHOD of Pestalozzi presents the requisite minuteness, distinctiveness, and precision, in such a simple mode as to render the analytic operations of the mind, easy, certain, and susceptible of application to all subjects, from the simplest action of the senses to the loftiest conceptions of universal science.

We again return to Mr. Combe, where he says he will inquire what the means of acquiring knowledge consist of:

"The English language, writing, and arithmetic, then, are important *means* of acquiring and communicating knowledge. They ought to be sedulously taught, and by the most approved methods. Algebra and pure mathematics also belong to the class of means. The former relates solely to numbers and their relations; the latter to portions of space and their proportions. The most profound skill in them, is compatible with extensive ignorance concerning every object, topic, and relation, that does not essentially imply exact proportions of numbers and space. All languages, likewise, belong to the class of means. In preferring one to another, we ought to be guided by the principle of utility; that in which most knowledge is contained is most useful. For this reason, French, German, and Italian, appear to me more valuable acquisitions than Greek and Latin.

"The second object of Education is the attainment of knowledge itself.

"If the season for obtaining real knowledge be dedicated to the study of languages, the individual enters on life in a state of qualification for practical business, similar to that of the lady for the practice of architecture, after having completed her studies in drawing. He is deficient in many acquisitions that would be substantially useful for the preservation of health and conducting of affairs. He knows nothing about the structure of his own body, and very little about the causes which support it in health or subject it to disease: he is very imperfectly informed concerning the constitution of his own mind, and the relations established between himself and other beings: he is not instructed in any science; knows nothing of the principles of trade; is profoundly ignorant of the laws of his country, which he is called on to obey and even to administer; and, in short, is sent into society with little other preparation than a stock of prejudices gathered from the nursery, and of vague imaginations about the greatness of Greece and Rome, the beauties of classical literature, and the vast superiority of learned pedantry over practical sense."

Here we must remark, as we have above remarked, on *Condillac*, that the author speaks to men already educated in some fashion; and that it is not so much *what shall be taught*, in the first instance, but *how instruction shall be conducted*; what shall be taught belongs to a different stage of consideration. Language, writing, and arithmetic, are of easy acquisition, by mere habit, or mechanical application, and it was wholly superfluous to enumerate those among the *means* of acquiring and communicating knowledge; and though he says they ought to be sedulously taught, and by the most approved methods, he says no more than every body before knew; which no one required to be told; while the main consideration—what is the *best method*—is not attempted to be developed or hinted at; while he overlooks the fact, that the *most approved method* is that in use; and the defects of which are the very objects of general complaint, and the spring of his own book. And his own remarks on *numbers and their relations*, say that the most profound skill in these is compatible with extensive ignorance, than which nothing can be more true, and for which we can never omit to repeat the method of Pestalozzi is the perfect corrective and the infallible remedy.

The rest of the book, to page 65, is by no means instructive, it includes indeed the fashionable English eulogy of the *Prussian system* of Education, which supplies nothing but *discipline* of all the wants in which Education stands, and is universally acknowledged in absolute need. The Prussian system has found an effective translator, and numerous *admirers*, among others the competitors for a project to overthrow the charity and the beneficence of Stephen Girard. The Prussian system is in the spirit of its government. There is no clause in the code for *nailing a boy's hat to his head because he allowed it to be blown off by a high wind*,—that theory, like flogging in the British army, is not now in fashion;—but it is profoundly adapted to confirm the object of preparing subjects for a military despotism; and fixing, by a *guage*, the exact quantity of knowledge which the *victim is permitted not to acquire*.

In page 65, Mr. Combe says:—

"Now, Education in real knowledge connects our sympathies with living beings and practical life; it stimulates us to action, and furnishes us not only with the means of planning useful occupation, but with the materials for executing our plans.

"The principles which I have hitherto advanced are applicable to all classes of human beings; but the chief objects of the present lectures are the Education, 1st. Of the industrious portion of the community, including all who live by their labor and talents, and do not belong to the learned professions; and, 2dly, Of females of every rank, for whom no adequate means of instruction in useful knowledge are provided.

1. In regard to the Education of the industrious classes. They constitute between thirteen and fourteen out of the sixteen millions of population in Great Britain. The kind of Education which they ought to receive will depend on the objects which we assign to their lives. If they have been created by Providence merely to toil and pay taxes, to eat, sleep, and transmit existence to future generations, a limited Education may suffice: but if they are born with the full faculties of moral, intellectual, and religious beings; if they are as capable, when instructed, of studying the works of God, of obeying his laws, of loving Him and

admiring his institutions, as any class of the community; in short, if they are rational beings, capable of all the duties, and susceptible of all the enjoyments, which belong to the rational character, then no Education is sufficient for them which leaves any portion of their highest powers waste and unproductive. This is the light in which I regard them; and the grand question presents itself, What mode of life, and what kind of pursuits, are best adapted to the nature of man?

"In answering this question, we must keep in mind, that human nature consists of the following elements:

"1st. An organized body, requiring food, exercise, and rest, in due proportions;

"2d. Animal propensities, requiring gratification;

"3d. Moral sentiments, demanding exercise and enjoyment;

"4th. Intellectual faculties, calculated to acquire knowledge, and intended to preside over the voluntary bodily functions, and the other departments of mind.

"In the present state of society, the industrious classes, or great mass of the people, live in the habitual infringement of the most important laws of their nature. Life with them is spent to so great an extent in labor, that their moral and intellectual powers are stunted of exercise and gratification; and hence their mental enjoyments are chiefly those afforded by the animal propensities; in other words, their existence is too little *rational*; they are rather organized machines than moral and intellectual beings. The chief duty performed by their higher faculties is not to afford predominant sources of enjoyment, but to communicate so much intelligence and honesty, as to enable them to execute their labors skilfully and with fidelity. I speak, of course, of the great body of the laboring population: there are many individual exceptions, who possess higher attainments; and I mean no disrespect even to this most deserving portion of society: on the contrary, I represent their condition in what appears to me to be a true light, only with a view to excite them to amend it.

"Does human nature, then, admit of such a modification of the employments and habits of this class, as to raise them to the condition of beings whose chief pleasures shall be derived from their rational natures?—that is, creatures whose bodily powers and animal propensities shall be subservient to their moral and intellectual faculties, and who shall derive their leading enjoyments from the latter. To attain this end, it would not be necessary that they should *cease to labor*; on the contrary, the necessity of labor to the enjoyment of life is imprinted in strong characters on the structure of man. The osseous, muscular, and nervous systems of the body, all require exercise as a condition of health; while the digestive and sanguiferous apparatus rapidly fall into disorder, if due exertion is neglected. Exercise of the body is labor; and labor directed to a useful purpose is as beneficial to the corporeal organs, and far more pleasing to the mind, than when undertaken for no end but the preservation of health."

We cannot pass without observing how little the author regarded the state of the American people, when he condescended to address his work to them by a special preface. Mr. Combe, if asked his opinion of the *Brahminical* distribution of classes, or *castes*, would probably hold up his hands with a *proh!* yet in the preceding extract, he absolutely plunges into the same spirit of partial discrimination, and deliberately consigns *fourteen out of sixteen millions of people*, to a different destiny, and a different education, as persons created by *Providence* to pay taxes, eat, and sleep, and transmit existence; and for whom a limited education may suffice; while to the other two millions belong a higher education!—and this is a specimen of English ethics and Christian doctrinal Education!





PUBLISHED BY WILLIAM DUANE.

PHILADELPHIA, DEC. 13, 1834.

## THE MILITARY ACADEMY.

A debate arose in the House of Representatives on Monday, on a motion made by Mr. Hawes, a member from Kentucky, to appoint a select committee of one member from each state, to inquire into the expediency of amending the laws relating to the Military Academy, and whether it was compatible with public interest to abolish that institution.

Accustomed for many years to see measures proposed upon caprice, passion, prepossession, jealousy, or that most humiliating of all motives, the measuring of public policy and national security, by a calculation of dollars and cents, no measure, however preposterous, produces surprise. When a man obtains a seat in Congress, it would seem that the elements of matter and mind undergo a sort of preternatural augmentation of faculty, and that papal infallibility finds its rival in that produced by the ballot-box.

At the same moment that the debate reached us, an article in the Baltimore Gazette, caught a glance of our sight, and brought to recollection a most curious debate, which arose on a similar measure of reform upon the *dollar and cent principle* in 1816 or 1817.

President Jefferson, looking forward to the rapid growth of society in 1807, the vast augmentation of population and commerce, considering the public institutions not as the convenience of a day, or a generation, but the inheritance of many generations, and for ever; as he had bought Louisiana and Florida, when other men were dreaming about present interests and official situations, he was desirous that science should be called into the aid of our manifold resources for the national prosperity, and a fair renown with posterity.

By a law of 1809, a survey of the Atlantic coast was ordered to be made. As it was due to the country, that a measure of so much moment should be so accomplished as to render future repetitions unnecessary, and to prevent errors, which too often arise out of a false parsimony, or incompetency in the agents employed; Mr. Jefferson took all the precautions to guard against such sources of error. He selected Mr. R. Hassler to execute this important task; but the country did not afford instruments suitable for its accomplishment, nor at that time had the arts advanced so far as to furnish them here. The experience of all similar measurements, and of the instruments best adapted for the purpose was obtained, and those improvements which had been discovered by the practice of France and England, were united to promote a work which was to render great national benefit, and not a little fame. Mr. Hassler personally superintended and directed the construction of those curious instruments, and such improvements were made as excited the admiration of men of science. Mr. Hassler returned home with his precious charge, and impatient to begin a great work, commenced the base line in 1816, upon which the series of triangles was to be constructed. We write from memory; we believe it was a base of one mile and a quarter; it requires some acquaintance with such transactions to be fully aware of the delicacy and accuracy indispensable in such works.

Mr. Hassler and his intelligent assistants of the Topographical department, were employed actively during one whole summer, when some well meaning but inexperienced farmer, who found a seat in Congress, made a

doleful lamentation on the vanity of mathematical learning, and the extravagance of measuring a coast which every body knew the length and limits of. One of those violent gusts of pecuniary economy, which makes the great business and the great pride of men who look no farther than their fire-sides, nor think that they are to have a posterity, or that the country will remain among the family of nations, when his wisdom has ceased to calculate, and his name be no more known than the name of Timoleon's standard-bearer, or the tailor that made Moses's breeches.

After that law had been passed, and the completest set of instruments ever constructed had been provided, Mr. Snooks rises in his seat, and holding forth the terrors of extravagance, showing that if such measurements go on the national debt would never be paid.

There is something too much of this antiquated colonial wisdom. The age we live in, and the glorious country we enjoy, requires that our institutions, and our policy, should keep pace with the spirit of the times, and the rapid progress of our own prosperity. Mr. Hassler was by an *economical* vote not only arrested in the progress of his great work, but the public lost his rare and inappreciable services. Fortunately the simplicity of the philosopher rendered such an event, however unfortunate, not fatal, and the country has not lost him.

We have been led to these remarks on past events, by the motion of Mr. Hawes concerning the Military Academy. How far the origin of the motion may correspond with the incidents above noticed, is for time to discover; but unquestionably there is an incongruity in the kind of logic by which the resolution is sustained.

The question concerning the Military Academy, as expressed in the resolution, assumes two different aspects. The first is rather insinuated than asserted, though some facts which occurred in debating the motion go farther; it is a question raised upon *alleged abuses*, or the improper exercise of the selection of pupils for the Academy. This is the whole of the logic upon which the motion is founded; and without saying that there may not have been *partiality* in the selection of candidates, we know enough of such affairs as to be able to say, that the *fault* is not in the *Academy*, nor in the purpose of its institution, nor in any cause but the influence of the Members themselves. The very regulations by which nominations are made for the Academy, points out the cause of complaint, if there be seriously any.

The regulation is founded on the jealousy of States, or rather of the Members of Congress who personify the States they belong to in their own persons and passions, a sort of reference to the number of representatives of States, is the pragmatic rule of selection; thus Delaware is presumed to have no title to more than one nomination, while Virginia has 21, Kentucky 13, Pennsylvania 28, and New York 40; all which, no doubt, refers to population. The members press their *quotas* with pertinacity, and few tasks are more unpleasant, or irksome, to a public officer than the importunity with which the Secretary of War is assailed, and the difficulty, nay the impossibility, of obliging all. We have seen two hundred names recommended by Members of Congress, before whom all private citizens have no chance;—and what is the conclusion to which the resolution drives? Resolved into plain English, it is this: whatever may be the utility, whatever the necessity, whatever the public benefit of the Academy, it must go down—because the Members of Congress are so eager for patronage that some succeed and some do not.

This is not logic—it is not common sense. If there be abuse reform it. If nothing else will do, let Members of Congress be prohibited by law from prosecuting such nominations. It would be a course more rational than to annihilate a school of science, which when we had opportunities of acquaintance with it, was honorable to this na-

tion, and adapted to diffuse knowledge such as could not be acquired in any other way or place.

The incidental, or inferential question, at the close of the resolution, indicates what it means. Not having the honor of a personal, or any other acquaintance with the mover of the resolution, we can have no motive but those that are exclusively public for what we utter on the subject; but with some experience, and being well acquainted with the deplorable insufficiency of the country when the exigencies of war had come upon us—the total lack of system—an ignorance so absolute of the first elements of military knowledge which pervaded this nation, that it appeared frightful to contemplate it. Upon economical principles, more than half the expenditures of the last war were the price of ignorance and unpreparedness.

When the war began, it seemed as if all that was deemed necessary was a commission, a uniform, and a sword. A sort of illicit convocation of field officers, was held during the late war, at some place in New York state; the questions to be discussed were wholly relative to war and discipline, and the modes by which practice was to be made perfect.

The result of this convocation was every way extraordinary in its inception, its action, and the resulting opinions of each and every of the members. A college of midwives could not have produced conclusions so remarkable—*no two agreed upon any one point*—and they parted without ever inquiring concerning the proper object of such an assemblage!! Is the country to be left in such a dilemma again, in the actual state of the world!

We quote the fact—it is part of our history—though perhaps this is all the public notice it has ever obtained. But the affair of Tippecanoe unveiled the too prevalent error as to the necessity of discipline. Bravery without some skill would be of little value, and the presence of modest, gallant *Boyd*, with his experience in many severe battles, saved the country from the disgrace of a surprise, and a defeat by mere savages.

The transactions at Detroit, and on the Niagara, with all the shame, expenditures, afflictions, and miseries, were the consequences of a general want of knowledge in a science which had, during the whole of the wars of the French Revolution, been developing new principles, and illustrating them by examples.

We could particularize many fatal effects of the want of rational ideas on military affairs during the late war; and the sacrifice of many hundred valuable lives.—Who that has any memory, can forget the influence of two disciples of the Military Academy on the Canada frontier?—or the brilliant but unpuffed defeat and flight of the British at Plattsburg? And who can forget the humiliating fact of the conflagration of the Capitol by not more than 1200 men, and in the presence of more than *ten thousand* men, without discipline, or any man of faculty to rally, distribute, direct, and command them.

Mr. Hawes's resolution, carried out in its spirit, would appear to any rational and experienced man, like a project for the more effectual generation of ignorance; or commencing a course of degeneracy; and might be followed up, without inconsistency, by another motion, to clothe the infantry and marines in broad-brimmed hats, coats without capes or buttons, and the regimental colors to be *drab*. Then we might counsel with John Bunyan, and wrestle with the Spirit, until some restless Nullifier should invoke war rather than not prevail in his march to power; or until some minister of despotism in Europe should form a holy alliance to put down the great nursery of Democracy.

The venerable Simon Dewitt, a soldier of the revolution and Surveyor General of the State of New York, died at Ithica on the 3d. At the time of his death he was near completing his 79th year. He caught a violent cold some time since while on his annual journey to his estates in Tompkins county.



## THE GENERAL POST OFFICE.

The remarkable transactions in the Senate of the United States, at the last session, preceded the issue of this series of the Aurora; of course we witnessed the events as a mere spectator, disinterested in every thing that concerned them, but as they affected the public interests, and the public character of the country, and of the Senate itself. Uninfluenced by either party in the case by benefits or injuries, and habituated to form opinions upon facts unaffected by the passions, the matter of the Post Office enquiry, the manner in which a committee was packed, the already predetermined irritability, and angry manifestations of the majority of which the committee was constituted, placed this measure too conspicuously to be mistaken among those acts of *full grown boys*, such as when become men they look back upon with blushes and eruptions of remorse.

The business was over done—it was a sort of hyperbole in political extravagance, by proving too much it proved nothing; and having proved so much over as amounted to falsification and premeditated imposition, the transaction went before the country as only an enlarged exemplification of the "*paper pellets of the brain*."

We have in a long experience remarked, that deplorable as the practice of lying and calumny is, it is only in an assumed appearance of candor or an affectation of moderation, that it becomes dangerous or pernicious to those against whom it is directed; and that the moment passion supersedes discretion, then falsehood carries along with it its own corrective.

Nothing more clearly demonstrates this effect of excessive misrepresentation, and gross abuse, than the result of the late election throughout the Union. All the artifices which produced the panic, though they were operative on men of weak minds for a moment—were so much overdone, and so extravagant, as to produce a reaction which reduces the authors to a lower state of humiliation than before they commenced their deceptive course.

So of the transactions of the Senate as to the Post Office; the public was not persuaded, because the matter presented to consideration was involved in voluminous perplexity; and the conduct so notoriously displayed on the introduction and gestion of the affair, operated as a "ruffle of precaution" against a too hasty movement of the judgment.

This whole affair, as is often said by one of our old contemporaries; this affair may be contained in a nut shell. The *rationale* of the affair is simply this:

The General Post Office, from its first institution, has subsisted upon itself.

It is not like the other Departments sustained by appropriations from the public revenue.

Congress never appropriates any money for the services rendered by the transportation of the private mercantile, and domestic correspondence of this nation, which is in never ceasing action, as constant as the sun, and travelling in stages in one year 16,222,743 miles, in steamboats 499,501 miles, on single horses or two wheeled carriages 6,902,977 miles; in all 23,625,021 miles, and affording for its own subsistence, and for its own effective services, a sum of \$ 1,471,371.

We have no other data later than what we find in that excellent annual, the Boston Almanac, from which we also find, that the Post Office transports, occasionally, more than a ton weight of newspapers, none of which pay more than one and a-half cent; and yet the postage for newspapers alone, in the year ending June 1832, amounted to \$ 254,797.

The services rendered to the public without drawing one cent from the treasurer, would alone constitute a title to public approbation—the transportation of public documents, under the franking privilege, amounts to nearly a million of dollars.

This privilege was extended at the close of a session,

by a stratagem, by which the Bank, and its attorneys, and pensioners, were enabled to circulate wagon loads of libels on the Government of the Country.

Besides all its inexpressibly important services, extending to every individual, and to every village, town, and hamlet, it performs the gratuitous work of transporting, free of charge, all the correspondence of the President, Vice President, Secretaries of State, Treasury, War, Navy, Attorney and Solicitor General, Post Master General and Deputies, the Public Comptrollers of the Revenue, Auditors, Register, Treasurer, Commissioners of Navy, Commissary General, Inspectors General, Quarter Master General, Adjutant General, Paymaster General, Patent Office, President, Speaker, and Clerks of both Houses of Congress, the Members of both Houses, and those who have been President of the United States.

Besides for the free and certain circulation of knowledge, the press is exempted even from payment for the postage of *papers* addressed to the publishers, and we understand that it has been in contemplation to render correspondence through the press more equal and reduce the postage to *one cent*, so as to favor the most remote and dispersed population, equally with the close and well settled communities.

Now all these momentous, and wide spread benefits to society, are rendered without any contribution through the Treasury of the United States; all its resources are derived from the most equitable of all principles of contribution, the payment being made for services actually rendered.

This being the constitutional, and legal mode of action and subsistence of the Post Office Department, which it is especially necessary to keep in view, in forming a correct judgment on the transactions in the Senate in the last session; it now comes to be enquired what are the ostensible complaints?

The allegations set up and sent forth are that—the Post Master General, Mr. Barry, *has expended more than his receipts*.

This taken as the solitary act of an individual in his own affairs, and who had the entire care of providing for the expenditures, as well as of regulating *what*, and *how much*, and for *what end*—would carry an appearance of gross improvidence at least.

But this *private position* is not that of Mr. Barry, whose position is public—the Post Master General may recommend *augmentation* or reduction, but he cannot augment, nor can he prevent augmentation of expenditure—he is in this respect wholly at the discretion of Congress—which alone determines the amount to be expended, without appropriating one cent to sustain the obligations which they create.

The latest official document we have seen, is the list of Post Offices of date 1st April, 1831, and from this document, we find that in 1808, the expenses of the Department exceeded the receipts \$ 2,264, that in 1820 it exceeded by \$ 48,999, in 1821 by \$ 125,196, in 1822 by \$ 50,082, in 1823 by \$ 26,880, in 1828 by \$ 26,285, in 1829 by \$ 105,317.

To persons not conversant with the mode of legislation on Post Office affairs, this excess would appear like that of an improvident individual; but the comparison would hold more homely, if it were made with a person who had a steward, whose interest was to make his principal spend, in order that the steward might benefit by the expenditure to the ruin of his principal.

Congress, which provides nothing to compensate the necessity for expenditure which it creates, has the power to increase the expense most inordinately. We some time ago saw a large sheet issued from the General Post Office, 1st July, 1834, which was confined to the enumeration of Post Offices established, and Post Offices discontinued or changed; and as we are accustomed, made a short minute of the facts, from which it appeared, that between 1st of

January and 1st July 1834, there took place under laws of Congress, the following alterations, and additions.

Post Offices.	Established.	Discontinued.	Changed.
Maine,	20	5	4
New Hampshire,	6	0	0
Vermont,	9	1	1
Massachusetts,	13	1	5
Connecticut,	6	0	0
New York,	37	5	16
New Jersey,	11	0	0
Maryland,	9	7	1
Pennsylvania,	44	9	7
Ohio,	58	2	4
Michigan,	52	2	7
Virginia,	19	17	4
North Carolina,	19	9	4
South Carolina,	10	6	4
Georgia,	31	5	7
Florida,	2	1	2
Alabama,	28	9	4
Mississippi,	13	2	0
Louisiana,	3	6	1
Arkansas,	6	4	1
Tennessee,	37	16	5
Kentucky,	18	13	5
Indiana,	21	6	1
Illinois,	21	2	1
Missouri,	21	0	1
	464	121	81

It will be seen from this exemplification, that Congress had *cut out ample work* for the Post Office, 464 new Post Offices created, 121 annulled, and 81 changed to other places. Now the annual appropriations of money for the public service by Congress did not provide means to support the expenditures of those 464 new Post Offices.

And whence were the funds to arise; the action of Congress in this class of business is as to the country beneficial, because it opens all the facilities of civilization correspondence, and knowledge; but as in the patronage of the Military Academy, there is a *good quantity* of political manoeuvring; a man who seeks a seat in Congress wishes to conciliate a village or a district and retain their suffrages, he gets them to petition for a post office, perhaps draws it up himself, and condescendingly calls upon them to recommend a fit person. The member proceeds to *bore* the Post Master General, to report in favor of the new establishment, and the elegant central position of Mount Misery comes before the Post Office Committee, which is in turn *bored* by the *condescending* legislator; Congress enacts that Mount Misery shall be prosperous, and leaves the Post Master General to *pay the reckoning*.

How is this to be done—at a previous session the whole income was absorbed by a similar augmentation of Post Offices. The funds are exhausted. What is the Post Master to do? Why he must do as was done in former years, when the expenditures exceeded the receipts, making the Department the foundation and guarantee of its own credit, to be disbursed from its own resources.

This is the whole case—he who runs may read!

These are our own reasonings—we have no correspondence, nor even documents from the Post Office, with its former history we are as well acquainted as most people.

## THE ORDER.

The Bank-bought Courier and Enquirer of the 8th November, gave the following directions to the City Corporation of New York—viz.

"They (the City Corporation) have the power, AND AT THE VERY FIRST MEETING IN JOINT BALLOT, THEY MUST SWEEP FROM OFFICE EVERY TORY THAT HAS BEEN PERMITTED TO RETAIN HIS PLACE—and when the period for re-appointing the Ward Justices and their Clerks arrive, EVERY TORY AMONG THEM MUST BE PROMPTLY REMOVED."

# REPORT OF THE POST MASTER GENERAL.

GENERAL POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT,  
November, 1834.

To the President of the United States:

SIR:—The Report which I had the honor to make on the 30th November, 1833, exhibited a balance due from this Department on the 1st July, 1833, beyond the whole amount of its available funds, of \$195,208 40

The expenses for the transportation of the mail necessarily continued undiminished till the close of the year 1833, prior to which date the retrenchments stated in that Report could not take effect; consequently the balance of debt against the Department continued to augment till that period.

The gross amount of postage was from July 1st, to December 31st, 1833, \$1,375,437 28

Compensation to Post Masters, including the contingent expenses of their offices during the same period amounted to \$434,628 89

Incidental expenses of the Department during the same time, amounted to 47,797 29

The expense for transportation of the mail from July 1st, to 31st December, 1833, was 1,013,402 68

Making the total expenses of the Department for that half year, \$1,495,828 86

This sum, after deducting the gross amount of postages for that period, leaves a deficit for the six months ending 31st December, 1833, of \$120,391 58

To this sum add the deficit existing on the 1st July, 1833, 195,208 40

And the balance of the debt against the Department beyond the amount of its available funds was, on the 1st of January, 1834 315,599 98

From the 1st of January 1834, the retrenchments in the transportation of the mail, stated in my Report of last year, began to take effect; and from that period, the revenues of the Department have exceeded its expenses.

The gross amount of postage was, from January 1st to June 30th, 1834, \$1,448,269 69

Compensation to Postmasters including the contingent expenses of their offices, within the same period amount to \$461,433 64

Incidental expenses of the Department for the same time, amounted to 30,300 38

The transportation of the mail from January 1st, to June 30th, 1834, amounted to 909,028 43

Making the total expenses of the Department for the half year, ending the 30th of June 1834 \$1,400,762 45

This sum deducted from the gross amount of postages for that period, leaves a revenue beyond the amount of expenses for the half year from January 1st, to June 30th, 1834, of 47,507 24

This sum deducted from the deficit existing January 4th, 1834 315,599 98

Reduces the balance of debt which existed against the Department on the 1st July, 1834, to \$268,092 74

Such was the financial condition of the Department on the 1st day of July last. The amount of this debt has been continually diminishing to the present time, and it continues to diminish in an increased ratio.

On the 1st day of July 1834, the balance of the account with Banks, was \$398,616 99 against the Department, consisting of loans, \$275,000, and over checks to the amount of \$123,616 99.

In this statement the difference between loans and over checks is rather nominal than essential.

When over checks are mutually agreed upon to a certain definite amount as a standing order, they are called loans; but when they vary indefinitely as to time and amount, they are called over checks. In either case they are debts due from the Department to Banks.

This amount of balance against the Department has been considerably reduced since the 1st of July last.

On the 1st day of the present month it stood as follows:

Amount due for loans from Banks \$275,000 00  
Amount of over checks, November 1, 1834. 55,969 09

Making together the sum of \$330,969 09

On the same day the balances of Bank Deposits in favor of the Department, constituting the amount of cash on hand, amounted to 82,031 34

Making the actual balance of the accounts with Banks, against the Department, on the 1st of November, 1834 248,937 75

The contracts for the Southern section including the States of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, and the Territory of Florida, which will expire with the current year, have been renewed, to take effect from the 1st of January next, on such terms as will effect an annual saving from the amount now paid for transportation in that section, of about \$120,000.

Additional retrenchments have also been made in the expense of transportation subsequent to my last annual report to the amount of about \$59,000. Making together an annual saving from the 1st of January next, of \$179,000.

From the savings thus effected, together with the current excess of revenue in favor of the Department, it may be safely calculated, that without any reliance upon an increase in the gross amount of postages, the revenues of the Department will exceed its expenditures, during the ensuing calendar year, to the amount of \$270,000.

From a careful estimate, it may be anticipated with entire confidence, that before the close of the year 1835, the whole balance of debt against the Department will be extinguished. No part of this debt was contracted upon the credit of the Treasury, nor upon any other credit or authority than that of the Department alone.

It was never regarded by either of the parties in the character of the debt of the Government, but a mere expedient to anticipate the resources of the Department, based upon the credit of those resources alone.

The means of its liquidation within a reasonable time, were always within the legal control of the head of the Department, and no other means at any time have been sought or desired by the Department.

By the Report of November, 1833, the expense for transporting the mail and for incidentals, from July 1st, to December 31st, 1833, was estimated at \$1,061,644 71

The actual expense for that period, was 1,061,199 97

Varying from the estimate only 444 74

The nett proceeds of postages for the year ending 30th June, 1834, were then estimated at 2,037,410 81

The actual nett proceeds of postages for that year, were 1,927,644 44

Falling below the estimate by the sum of 109,766 37

Thus it appears that the expenses of the Department have not essentially varied from the estimates, but the nett revenue arising from postages has fallen short of the estimates then made, more than a hundred thousand dollars. This is believed to be, in a very considerable degree, attributable to the great increase of free letters. The progressive increase of population naturally brings with it an accumulation of business in the executive offices, which tends in some measure, to increase their correspondence; and in addition to this, a law passed in March, 1833, extending to members of Congress the privilege of franking during the whole recess. Every other year, the session of Congress is protracted to a much greater length than in the alternate year, when a Congress terminates.

The expenses for the delivery of free letters, at two cents each, have always amounted to a much greater sum during the year when the session is protracted, than during the alternate year. To make a fair comparison between the amount of free letters before and after the extension of the franking privilege, it is necessary to take two entire years. Thus: The allowance to Postmasters for the delivery of free letters for the two years ending July 30, 1832, (before the extension,) was \$40,556 89

For the two years ending July 1, 1834, (after the extension,) was 54,158 88

Making, since the extension, an increase of \$13,601 99

Or payment for the delivery of 680,099 free letters more than were delivered the two preceding years. But no allowance is made for the delivery of free letters at post offices where the Postmaster's commissions exceed \$500 a quarter.

If the same proportion of free letters is delivered at offices where no allowances for them are made to Postmasters, as at the smaller offices, then the increase since the franking privilege was extended, is equal to 960,000 free letters more than what

were delivered within the same period of time prior to that extension. The postage on each of these letters, if not free, would be from six cents to two dollars. The average it is believed, would not be less than 25 cents each, exclusive of the Postmasters' commissions. If estimated at this average, they would amount to \$240,000 00

To this add the allowance actually made for their delivery, 13,601 99

And the increase of free letters, within the last two years, has actually cost the Department \$253,601 99

which is more than equal to the balance of debt at this time existing against the Department.

Estimates have been obtained from several of the Executive offices, of the amount of their official correspondence carried on through the Post office establishment under the franking privilege of the officers by whom it is conducted, and it appears from the Departments of State, Treasury, War, and Navy, including the sub-offices of the Treasury and Navy, the official correspondence by mail, on which no postage is paid, is estimated to be equal to 2,685,235 single free letters in a year, and that by far the greater proportion of them are sent the full distance for which the highest rate of postage would be chargeable. The average postage on those letters, if not free, it is believed would be not less than 18½ cents each, which would amount to \$503,481 56.

This estimate is exclusive of the offices of the Attorney General, Adjutant General, Commissary General, Inspector General, Quarter Master General, Paymaster General, and Superintendent of the Patent Office, all of whom have the privilege of franking. It is also estimated that the number of free letters passing under the frank of members of Congress, amounts to 8000 a day during the session.

If the correspondence of the offices above mentioned, which are not embraced in the estimate, and the postages fairly estimated which would be chargeable on the correspondence of members of Congress, if not free, should be added to the statement, it is believed the annual amount of free letters would not fall short of a million of dollars, exclusive of the correspondence of the Post Office Department itself.

This is an annual contribution by the Department to the Government.

Though the amount of revenue arising from postages for the year ending June 30, 1834, did not equal the estimate, yet there was a considerable increase above the amount of the preceding year. The gross amount of postages for the year ending June 30, 1833, was \$2,616,538 27

For the year ending June, 30, 1834, it was, 2,823,706 97

Making an increase in the gross amount of \$207,168 70

The nett amount of postages, after deducting commissions to postmasters, and the contingent expenses of their offices, was, for the year ending June 30, 1833 \$1,790,254 65

For the year ending June 30, 1834, it was 1,927,644 44

Making an increase in the nett proceeds of \$137,389 79

The finances of the Department continue to be in an improving condition; and the solicitude which has been shown to obtain mail contracts, the reduced rates at which they have been taken for the Southern section, and the zeal with which contractors generally persevere in their services to the Department, furnish ample demonstration that its credit is unimpaired.

The number of post offices in the United States was, on the 1st of July last, 10,693, being an increase of 566 over the number reported last year.

The annual amount of transportation has been but slightly varied since my last report. The mail is now carried in stages and steamboats about 16,900,000 miles a year; and on horseback and in sulkies, about 8,600,000 miles, making together about 25,500,000 miles a year.

The celerity of the mail should always be equal to the most rapid transition of the traveller; and that which shortens the time of communication, and facilitates the intercourse between distant places, is like bringing them nearer together. While it affords convenience to men of business, it tends to counteract local prejudices, by enlarging the sphere of acquaintance.

It perpetuates existing friendships, and creates new ones, by which the bands of union are strengthened, and the happiness of society promoted. These considerations have always had their full weight upon my mind in making improvements in mail operations.

The multiplication of rail roads in different parts of the country, promises, within a few years, to give great rapidity to the movements of travellers; and it is a subject worthy of inquiry, whether measures may not now be taken to secure the transportation of the mail upon them. Already have the rail roads be-



tween Frenchtown, in Maryland, and New Castle, in Delaware, and between Camden and Amboy, in New Jersey, afforded great and important facilities to the transmission of the great Eastern mail. The rail road between this city and Baltimore will soon be completed, and the distance from the post office in this place to that of Baltimore, will not be materially varied from the present road, thirty-eight miles.

From Baltimore by Port Deposit, in Maryland, to Coatesville, in Pennsylvania, the line for a rail road is located, and the stock subscribed for its completion; and from Coatesville to Philadelphia, a rail road is made and in operation.

The distance between Baltimore and Philadelphia, on this road will be 117 miles, about 18 miles greater than the present land route. From Philadelphia to Trenton bridge, about 28 miles, the rail road is nearly completed, and from New Brunswick, in New Jersey, to Jersey City, on the west side of the Hudson river, opposite the City of New York, 30 miles, the rail road is in a state of progress. When these works shall be completed, the only interval will be between Trenton and New Brunswick, about 26 miles, to complete an entire rail road between this place and the City of New York; and it cannot be supposed that the enterprising State of New Jersey, will long delay to perfect a communication of such great importance, passing through most of her largest and most flourishing towns. When this shall be done, the whole distance between this city and New York, on a continuous rail road, will not exceed 240 miles; and the journey may be performed at all times with certainty, allowing ample time for stopping at important places on the road, in 16 hours, and ordinarily in a shorter period.

If provision can be made to secure the regular transportation of the mail upon this, and upon other rail roads which are constructing, and in some instances already finished, it will be of great utility to the public; otherwise, these corporations may become exorbitant in their demands, and prove eventually to be dangerous monopolies.

I have the honor to be, most respectfully,

Your humble serv't,

W. T. BARRY.

Statement of the amount of Gold remaining in the Mint uncoined on the 29th November, 1834, with the amount deposited for coinage within the week ending December 6th—together with the amount of New Gold coinage.

Remaining uncoined at the Mint, November 29,	\$189,610
Deposited for coinage during the week ending December, 6th, viz.	
Uncoined bullion,	\$6,000
Coins of the United States of former standard,	7,000
Foreign coins,	9,500
	22,500

Amount coined within the same period,

212,110  
134,800

Remaining uncoined,

\$77,310

Amount coined from 1st August last, to 29th November, instant,

\$3,114,090

Amount coined from 29th November to 6th December,

134,800

Total amount of new gold coinage,

\$3,248,890

From the Boston Statesman.

#### OFFICE HOLDERS! OFFICE HOLDERS!!

To the Working-men of the State of Massachusetts:—

The Bank Tories make a great fuss about office holders—wherever one of their political opponents happen to hold an office, they hunt him down as eagerly as the wolf preys upon the lamb. One that was unacquainted with their constant hypocritical cant, would be led to believe, from their harping, that none of their party held offices of any kind, or had a desire for any.—But we find, on looking to their acts, that whenever they gain power, they are restrained by no consideration of lenity, magnanimity, or consistency, in the proscription of political opponents. In Philadelphia and New York, where they gained the command last spring, of the municipal governments, they turned out and proscribed their political opponents from the highest to the lowest, down even to the city watchmen and draymen. In Maryland and Connecticut, they have pursued the same gauge the last year, as they did also a year or two since in Rhode Island and New Jersey, where they got the ascendancy. But when they get their own partisans into office, they are for perpetuities in office. Who would suppose, from the tone of the Federal papers in this State against the General Government, that there were at this moment more Federalists than Democrats, holding office under it, in this State? But such is the fact. Yes, we repeat it, there are more of the opposition, than of

friends of the administration, who hold office in this State, under the authority of the United States and General Jackson's administration. So far as numbers go, the official influence of the National Government officers in this State, and we say it, we confess, with regret, is against the administration—and the same remark is also true as applicable to the whole country—a notable instance of ill-judged magnanimity. But when we come to the State patronage in Massachusetts, the Democrats are proscribed and hunted down—even defrauded, if they can be reached in no other way, as was the case about the city printing a few years since, when the City Council cheated our predecessors out of it, and one of its members avowed and boasted of the fraud.

People, our own people, have very little idea of the immense amount of patronage in the hands of the aristocracy, which rules and grinds into the dust the producing classes. We had the curiosity, the other day, to look over the Bank Memorial, got up by Biddle's stipendiaries in this city last winter, in favor of the British Bank, misnamed the Bank of the United States.—We discovered there some very important facts. We find the officers, directors, and stockholders, of our local banks, generally, (though there are honorable exceptions,) sustaining the Mammoth, as the *Mother of the paper system*—as the prolific parent of that brood of cormorants and harpies, the monied corporations, which, with insatiate appetites, are devouring the bread of the laborer, and robbing the humble of their earnings. We find the salaried agents, and the bloated stockholders in the great factories, these *fungi* of the American system, that twin brother of the Bank, shoulder to shoulder with the owners and officers of most of the local banks, the satellites of the Mammoth, sustaining with all the influence of their names, this odious BRITISH monopoly. We knew there must be reason for all this; and knowing that every feeling of our aristocracy, morality, religion, and patriotism, yielded to a paramount influence, avarice, we were led to count up some of their gains. We found, and we did not find near all, that on the memorial from this city, containing over six thousand names, there were TWO HUNDRED AND NINETY-EIGHT individuals who received from official emoluments, under the state and city, and from institutions incorporated or existing under the laws of the State, in sums of from one hundred and fifty dollars to TEN THOUSAND DOLLARS EACH, the enormous amount of FOUR HUNDRED AND NINETEEN THOUSAND AND THREE HUNDRED DOLLARS ANNUALLY.

This is exclusive of the vast sums, which the agents of manufacturing establishments receive as commissions, and what the officers of the banks get for *usury*, and which must amount to some millions of dollars a year more. But here we see official patronage with a vengeance. Here we see officers, who receive immense sums, which are drawn by means of monopolies, the legitimate fruits of illegitimate legislation, from the producing classes, appointed and their salaries fixed by private authority, and their offices continued in perpetuity.

Mr. C. W. Cartwright, who signed the Bank Memorial, the Chairman also, we believe, of the Federal General Committee in this city, a zealous and vociferous partisan, receives, as the president of an incorporated company, \$3,500 annually, besides what he gets, probably as much more, as agent of Factories.

Mr. Patrick T. Jackson, another of these signers, gets TEN THOUSAND DOLLARS A YEAR OFFICIAL EMOLUMENT, from this kind of corporations.—Messrs. Lawrence's house receives, through the agency of this system, in commissions, &c. we were told, nearly ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS A YEAR—and we have been informed that Messrs. Whitwell, Bond & Co. made by guaranteeing, during the distress times last winter, more than ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS. These men are not only on the Bank Memorial, but were the most active in the panic business. Can it be a matter of wonder that men like these, rioting in wealth drawn to them by this nefarious system of monopoly, should be in favor of its continuance?

What is all the official patronage of the General Government of State Government, compared to this? It is but as a drop in the bucket—and yet the salaries paid to men engaged in unproductive labor, such as banking, though advanced by the stockholders, is ultimately drawn from the wages of productive labor, just as much as the impost duty is ultimately paid by the consumer, though advanced by the importer. We are not surprised at the zeal and earnestness with which the men we have named, and others which we might name, similarly circumstanced, worked for the Bank last winter, and now work for it. Their interest in its continuance is immense, direct, personal; but that they should be able to carry so large a portion of our citizens—the working and producing classes, whose interests are directly opposed to the interests of the monopolists with them—is most astonishing. Numbers of young traders, who are squeezed and almost put to death, by the Bank monopolists, during the pressure, designedly got up last winter, are the very instruments the monopolists harness to their car, and make work in their traces.

## TWENTY-THIRD CONGRESS.

SECOND SESSION.

### IN SENATE.

MONDAY, December 8, 1834.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from Jacob Kern, President of the Convention of the Legislature of Pennsylvania, with a certificate of the election of JAMES BUCHANAN, to represent that State in the Senate of the United States, to supply the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of William Wilkins.

Also, a communication from the Secretary of the Senate, with a statement of the contingent expenses of the Senate for the past year.

Mr. WEBSTER gave notice that on to-morrow he would ask leave to introduce a bill to provide compensation to American citizens for spoliation on their commerce prior to 1800.

On motion of Mr. WHITE, 1750 additional copies of the documents accompanying the President's Message, were ordered to be printed.

The Senate adjourned.

TUESDAY, Dec. 9, 1834.

The Vice President laid before the Senate a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, with a statement relative to the Bank of the United States and the deposit banks for the past year; which,

On motion of MR. GRUNDY, was ordered to be printed, together with the accompanying documents.

Mr. SILSBEE gave notice that on to-morrow he would ask leave to introduce a bill to exempt certain merchandise from the operation of duties imposed by the tariff of 1828.

Mr. TYLER gave notice that on to-morrow he would ask leave to introduce a bill to remit the duties on all locomotive steam engines intended for rail roads, and upon parts of such engines and wheels for rail road cars, with their necessary appendages imported, or which may be ordered, prior to fourth of March next.

Mr. BENTON submitted the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Treasury be directed to communicate to the Senate any correspondence with the Bank of the United States on the subject of the branch drafts, and dividends withheld, not heretofore communicated. Also, to inform the Senate whether the Directors on the part of the Government have been refused access to the books and accounts of the institution.

The Senate then adjourned.

### HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

MONDAY, December 8, 1834.

The following Standing Committees were appointed by the Speaker, pursuant to the order of the House:

ELECTIONS.—Messrs. Claiborne, Griffin, Hawkins, Vanderpoel, Hannegan, Hard, Burns, Bouldin, Kilgore.

WAYS and MEANS.—Messrs. Polk, Wilde, Cambreling, McKim, Binney, Loyall, McKinley, Hubbard, Corwin.

CLAIMS.—Messrs. Whittlesey of Ohio, Barbour, McIntire, Gholson, Forester, Stoddert, Banks, Fulton, Miner.

COMMERCE.—Messrs. Sutherland, Harper of New Hampshire, Pinckney, Heath, Pearce of Rhode Island, Gillet, Phillips, Johnson of Louisiana, Morgan.

PUBLIC LANDS.—Messrs. Clay, Boon, Slade, Ashley, Inge, Williams, Lincoln, Casey, Clayton.

POST OFFICE and POST ROADS.—Messrs. Connor, Kavenah, Thomas of Louisiana, Briggs, Murphy, Lane, Laporte, Hall of Maine, Schley.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.—Messrs. Chinn, W. B. Shepard, McKeenan, Allen of Virginia, Heister, Filmore, King, Vanderpoel, Steele.

JUDICIARY.—Messrs. Foster, Gordon, Beardsley, Thomas of Maryland, Hardin, Parks, Pierce of New Hampshire, Robertson, Hamer.

REVOLUTIONARY CLAIMS.—Messrs. Muhlenberg, Crane, Bates, Standifer, Marshal, Young, Baylies, Turritt, Kinnard.

PUBLIC EXPENDITURES.—Messrs. Davenport, Lyon, Page, Clarke of Pennsylvania, Tweedy, McLene, Jackson of Massachusetts, Hazeltine, Ferris.

PRIVATE LAND CLAIMS.—Messrs. Johnson of Tennessee, Mardis, Carr, Galbraith, Mann of New York, Bull, Chambers, Davis of Kentucky, May.

MANUFACTURES.—Messrs. Adams of Massachusetts, Denney, Dickerson of New Jersey, Martindale, McComas, Osgood, Clowney, Cramer, Jackson of Connecticut.

AGRICULTURE.—Messrs. Bockee, Taylor of Va., Hathaway, Barnitz, Bean, Dunlap, Clowney, Turner, Beatty.

INDIAN AFFAIRS.—Messrs. Gilmer, McCarty, Everett of Vermont, Graham, Allen of Ohio, Dickinson of Tennessee, Howell, Love of Kentucky, Grennell.

MILITARY AFFAIRS.—Messrs. Johnson of Kentucky,



Vance, Speight, Ward, Thompson, Coffee, Bunch, McKay, Anthony.

**NAVAL AFFAIRS.**—Messrs. White of New York, Milligan, Watmough, Lansing, Reed, Grayson, Parker, Smith, Wise.

**FOREIGN AFFAIRS.**—Messrs. Wayne, Everett of Massachusetts, Hall of North Carolina, Coulter, Jarvis, Pierson, Patton, Letcher, Peyton.

**TERRITORIES.**—Messrs. Allan of Kentucky, Potts, Johnson of New York, Wilson, Jones of Ohio, Ewing, Gamble, Cage, Trumbull.

**REVOLUTIONARY PENSIONS.**—Messrs. Wardwell, Barringer, Tompkins, Moore of Virginia, Lea of Tennessee, W. K. Fuller, Fowler, Bell, Lay.

**INVALID PENSIONS.**—Messrs. Miller, Beale, Adams of New York, Schenck, Chilton, Chaney, Mitchel of Ohio, Brown of New York, Janes.

**ROADS AND CANALS.**—Messrs. Mercer, Blair, Vinton, Stewart, Rencher, Johnson of Maryland, Lucas, Pope, Reynolds.

**REVISAL AND UNFINISHED BUSINESS.**—Messrs. Dickson, Harrison, McVean, Shinn, Taylor of New York.

**ACCOUNTS.**—Messrs. Mann of Pennsylvania, Lee of New Jersey, Mitchell of New York, Crockett, Osgood.

The following Standing Committees of the House, appointed at the last session, remain through the Congress:

**ON EXPENDITURES IN DEPARTMENT OF STATE.**—Messrs. A. H. Shepperd, Day, Beaumont, Bodle, Patterson.

**ON EXPENDITURES IN DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY.**—Messrs. Allen of Vermont, P. C. Fuller, Harper of Pa., Spangler, Clarke of New York.

**ON EXPENDITURES IN DEPARTMENT OF WAR.**—Messrs. Whittlesey of New York, Deberry, Chambers, Webster, Halsey.

**ON EXPENDITURES IN DEPARTMENT OF NAVY.**—Messrs. Hall of Maine, Huntington of New York, Ramsay, Sloane, Van Houten.

**ON EXPENDITURES IN DEPARTMENT OF POST OFFICE.**—Messrs. Hawes, Fulton, Burns, Wagener, Lay.

**ON EXPENDITURES ON PUBLIC BUILDINGS.**—Messrs. Whallon, Darlington, Brown, Henderson, Hard.

**R. J. MANNING** and **F. W. PICKENS**, elected to fill vacancies in the South Carolina Delegation, appeared, were qualified, and took their seats.

Petitions and memorials were presented.

On motion of **MR. CLAYTON**,

*Resolved*, That the Committee of Ways and Means inquire into the expediency of establishing a branch of the Mint in some central position of what is denominated the Gold Region, lying between the States of Virginia and Alabama.

On motion of **MR. HUBBARD**,

*Resolved*, That the Committee on Revolutionary Pensions be instructed to inquire into the expediency of providing by law for the publication *semi-annually*, in those newspapers printed in the respective States, which from their location may be best calculated to give information, and which shall be designated for that purpose by the Secretary of War, for the time being, *the names and the residence* of all those persons represented to be living in said States, who are on the rolls of the invalid and revolutionary pensioners and annuitants, under the several acts of Congress.

**MR. BEATY** moved the following resolution, which was read and laid upon the table for one day:

*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Treasury be requested to send to this House the aggregate amount of revenue collected on imported merchandise, tonnage, &c. in each State of this Union, for the year 1833.

**MR. HAWES** offered the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That a Select Committee, consisting of one member from each State, be appointed, with power to inquire into the expediency of amending the laws relating to the Military Academy at West Point, in the State of New York, or whether it would not comport with the public interests to abolish said institution.

**MR. CLAYTON** hoped that this inquiry would not be denied. An impression had gone abroad, that this institution was a nursery for the sons of members of Congress, and the rich. If this impression was true, it ought to be abolished. Its benefits were said to be extended to the favored few, to the exclusion of the sons of poor soldiers and officers. He would not say, that those charges were true; but the suspicions which were in circulation demanded that a full inquiry into the subject should be made.

**MR. HAWES** remarked, that the rumors referred to by the gentleman from Georgia, (Mr. Clayton) demanded this inquiry. The minds of his constituents were made up on this subject, and he believed the constituents of other gentlemen, felt a deep solicitude in relation to it. The institution had been held up as pure by its friends, and he trusted that no gentleman who had abused the Bank of the United States, because a full inquiry

was denied to a Committee of this House, would oppose the investigation proposed in the resolution.

**MR. PARKER** moved to amend the resolution, by striking out so much as related to abolishing the Academy; and also that the Committee should consist of one member from each State. He suggested that a Select Committee, composed of a more limited number would be sufficient, and that the clause in relation to the abolishment of the institution was unnecessary, as upon the report of the Committee, the House could take such steps as the facts disclosed might render proper.

**MR. SPEIGHT** was in favor of the amendment, so far as regarded the abolishment of the Academy. He considered the inquiry necessary, and if the rumors afloat were true, the institution should be abolished. The committee would, however, have it in their power to recommend such a measure, if the facts warranted it. He was in favor of a large committee, and agreed with the gentleman from Kentucky, (Mr. Hawes,) that those who favored the investigation of the affairs of the Bank of the United States, ought not to oppose the contemplated inquiry. It was true, the subject had heretofore been referred to the Committee on Military Affairs; but complaint had been made, that in consequence of a majority of that committee being in favor of the West Point Academy, a full investigation into its affairs had not taken place. He considered the present a simple matter of inquiry, and he trusted all objections to its adoption would be withdrawn.

**MR. JOHNSON**, of Kentucky, said, that the Committee on Military Affairs, at the last session, after a thorough investigation, had made a full report on this subject, but owing to the press of business, he did not believe that ten members of the House were either aware of this fact, or had read the report. He was sorry at all times to interpose any objection to motions made by his colleague; but he was not in favor of abandoning the usual practice of referring subjects, which appropriately belonged to the Standing Committees to Select Committees. As regarded the proposition to raise a Select Committee, to consist of so large a number, it was unusual, and in the course of a long service in Congress, he did not recollect that such a course had been adopted on more than one or two occasions. He had no objection to a Select Committee of seven or nine members. It had been suggested that a majority of the Committee on Military Affairs were in favor of this Academy. If so, they could be instructed by the House. In relation to the rumors, which had been referred to, he knew nothing of them, and regarded all rumors as the idle wind. He was satisfied the fullest investigation would result in nothing prejudicial to those who conducted the Academy, and that the greater the scrutiny into its affairs, it would be the more approved by the American People.

**MR. WILLIAMS** said, that an inquiry might as properly be made as to the propriety of abolishing the army. One was just as essential to the military defence as the other. If, however, rumors, injurious to the institution, were in circulation, it was proper that they should be inquired into. If true, and abuses existed, they should be corrected. If untrue, they should be refuted. The Committee on Military Affairs was the proper one to make this investigation. That Committee was technically and practically better acquainted with the subject. He doubted whether the present rule for the admission of persons into this Academy was a good one, and if this was changed, it was probable that all objections would cease. He would vote for the resolution in any shape; but viewing the Military Committee as the proper one to make the investigation, he moved to amend the resolution by so referring it.

**MR. BROWN** hoped the amendment of the gentleman from North Carolina would prevail. He was the friend of the Military Academy, and he sincerely hoped that no one entertaining similar sentiments would throw any obstacle in the way of a full, free, and searching inquiry into its utility, and the administration of its affairs. A Select Committee of one member from each State would look at the institution standing separate and alone, and unconnected with the army, of which it was most certainly a very essential part. It was in fact the foundation upon which in a great measure rested one system of public defence, and it should be regarded and examined in connexion with the whole subject. It therefore properly belonged to the Committee upon Military Affairs, which was raised by the rules of the House for the express purpose of investigating all questions of a military character. He should, therefore, prefer to have the inquiry made by that committee. The Military Academy was a national institution, and if there was any question or doubt in the public mind as to the propriety of its future existence, the very best way to remove all such doubts was to make public all the light and information which can be obtained upon the subject. He had supposed that it had been fully investigated—the Military Committee, of which the honorable gentleman (Col. Johnson) from Kentucky, was Chairman, had submitted at the last session a most able and elaborate report upon the

nature and character of the institution at West Point, and he could hardly believe that any unprejudiced mind could rise from the perusal of that report without a perfect conviction of the utility and necessity of a military school for the instruction of our officers in the elements of military science. If, however, gentlemen desired a further investigation, and another report, he hoped no friend of the Academy would interpose the slightest opposition.

**MR. HARDIN** considered this institution as essentially necessary to the military defence, as the arm is to the body. There was no specific charge alleged against it, and unless that was the case, he believed the proposed investigation uncalled for.—If there was any blame, in regard to the appointment of Cadets, it rested with members of Congress, as their recommendations for their particular States, were generally confirmed by the Executive Department. He concluded by moving to lay the resolution and amendments on the table.

The question was then taken upon laying the resolution on the table, and decided in the negative, as follows:

Yeas—19. Nays—190.

**MR. HAWES** knew but perhaps one member of the Committee on Military Affairs, (Mr. R. M. Johnson,) and these was no man on earth that he would sooner trust. He had as much confidence in the Military Committee as any other committee of the House; but the subject was one of so much importance, that he thought each State should have a voice in it. If the gentleman from New York, (Mr. Brown,) in whose district this institution is located, is so well satisfied that every thing is right, why is he so anxious again to refer the subject to the Committee on Military Affairs? It had been supposed that the resolution proposed to abolish the Academy. This was a mistake. It merely proposed an inquiry into its management, which might or might not eventuate in a recommendation that it should be abolished. One of his colleagues (Mr. Hardin) was adverse to the resolution, because nothing specific was alleged. He would furnish him and the House a specific allegation. One of the near relations of that gentleman (who was wealthy) had been appointed a Cadet in this institution, to the exclusion of other worthy and indigent youths.

**MR. MANN**, of New York, was in favor of the proposed inquiry. At the same time he wished it extended a little farther—to make it as extensive as possible. He had no doubt of the mal-administration in the West Point Academy. He understood it cost the Government some five or six thousand dollars to qualify a young man for the Army. He was in favor of the general principles of the institution, but was opposed to its abuses. But he wished this inquiry extended to another branch of the service. He wished to offer an amendment abolishing the office of "Commander-in-Chief" of the Army.

[The SPEAKER here reminded the gentleman that such an amendment was not now in order, there being then pending an amendment to an amendment.]

**MR. MANN** resumed. He would propose his amendment at the proper time. He would, however, remark, that the pay, rations, &c. of the "Commander-in-Chief" of the Army, was understood to be about \$10,000. He was friendly to this officer; but he was unwilling that he should receive a compensation so disproportionate to that of other officers, and which greatly exceeded the salaries paid to the Heads of Departments.

[The SPEAKER here reminded the gentleman that he was indulging in a course of remarks, not then in order.]

**MR. MANN** continued. In relation to the immediate question before the House, he would, in general, prefer sending subjects to the appropriate standing committees. As, however, it had been suggested that the Military Committee had prejudged the case, he had no objection to a select committee, but preferred a smaller number than proposed by the original resolution.

**MR. WARD** was a member of the Military Committee which had investigated the subject at a former session. If it was again to be inquired into, he would prefer a select committee. There being no specific charges, the Military Committee would have no new ground of inquiry, and they had already given to the subject the most thorough examination, and reported the result to the House.

The amendment of **MR. WILLIAMS** was then disagreed to—Yeas 76—Nays 98.

The question recurred on **MR. PARKER'S** motion to amend. A division of the question being called for, it was first put upon limiting the number of the Select Committee, and lost. Yeas 73—Noes not counted.

The remainder of the amendment, to strike out that part of the inquiry in relation to the expediency of abolishing the West Point Academy, was also negatived.

**MR. MANN** of New York, then moved to add to the resolution the following amendment:

"And that said committee be also instructed to inquire into the expediency of abolishing the office of Major-General Com-



manding-in-Chief, and apportioning more equitably the pay, rations, and emoluments of the general officers of the army."

Mr. SMITH of Maine, said, he was entirely in favor of both the propositions contained in the original resolution of the gentleman from Kentucky, and the proposition of the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York. He was persuaded that both subjects merit the careful investigation of this House. But, said Mr. S. I am opposed to connecting them, as I believe they will but embarrass each other, and perhaps defeat the intention of the proposed investigation in relation to each. It must be apparent to every gentleman, that by connecting these subjects, the labors and difficulties incident to the investigation, will be possibly, if not probably, so much increased, as to prevent our having a report made at all, or if at all, at too late a period to be definitely acted upon by the House, during the present short session. While, therefore, I am in favor of the proposition of the gentleman from New York, in favor of each of the propositions made for investigation, and as much in respect to the one as to the other, I am constrained to vote against joining them together. If the gentleman from New York will withdraw his amendment, and propose his desired investigation in a distinct resolution, I pledge him that my vote shall be given in its support. As it is now presented, I trust it will not be adopted.

Mr. WISE remarked, that under the Constitution, the President of the United States was the "Commander-in-Chief." He desired to know whether it was the object of the gentleman from New York to abolish the office of President?

Mr. MANN: By no means. The person to whom he alluded had assumed the cognomen of "Commander-in-Chief," and if the gentleman from Virginia would suggest a more proper term he would adopt it. He was not in favor of abolishing the office of President, although some gentlemen might think it expedient.

Mr. WISE suggested the term "General-in-Chief," which was accepted as a modification, when the amendment was rejected.

The original resolution was then adopted by the following vote.—Yeas, 181. Nays, 27.

On motion of Mr. WATMOUGH, the bill regulating the pay of the Navy of the United States was made the special order of the day for to-morrow week.

The SPEAKER laid before the House a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, enclosing a report, made in pursuance of a resolution of the House at its last session, in relation to the reorganization of the Treasury Department.

TUESDAY, December 9, 1834.

On motion of Mr. POLK, the reports of the Secretary of the Treasury on the state of the finances, and the estimated appropriations necessary for the year 1835, were referred to the Committee of Ways and Means.

The following resolution offered by Mr. JARVIS, was ordered to lie on the table for one day:

*Resolved*, That the President of the United States be requested to communicate to this House, any information he may possess respecting the burning of the building occupied by the Treasury Department in the year 1833.

On motion of Mr. MORGAN,

*Resolved*, That the Committee on Commerce inquire into the expediency of obliging all merchant ships, or vessels of the United States, over the burthen of two hundred tons, bound south of the equator, to have on board, as a part of the crew, two apprentices, at least, as a means of benefiting the naval and commercial interests of the United States.

On motion of Mr. MASON, of Virginia.

*Resolved*, That the Message of the President of the United States, on the subject of a present received by the Consul of the United States at Tangier, from the Emperor of Morocco, made to this House at the last session of Congress, be recommitted to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, with instructions to report a bill directing the sale of the lion and horses presented, and such application of the proceeds of such sale, as shall be deemed most appropriate. Also, to inquire into the expediency of making disposition of such other presents as have been made to officers of the Government, and deposited in the Secretary of States office, as being presented contrary to the Constitution.

#### PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

On motion of Mr. CONNOR, the House resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union—Mr. SPEIGHT in the Chair—on the Message of the President of the United States.

*Resolved*, That so much of the President's Message as relates to the political relations of the United States with other nations, be referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

As relates to commerce, to the Committee on Commerce.

As relates to the finances, and to the Bank of the United States, to the Committee of Ways and Means.

As relates to the War Department, the Committee on Military Affairs.

As relates to the Indian tribes, to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

As relates to extensive frauds under the various laws granting pensions and gratuities for revolutionary services, and the re-examination of those laws, to the Committee on Revolutionary Pensions.

As relates to the Navy, to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

As relates to the Post Office, to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

As relates to the extension of the Judiciary system of the United States, to the Committee on the Judiciary.

As relates to the amendment of the Constitution, in relation to the election of the President and Vice President of the United States, to a Select Committee.

As relates to the destruction of the building occupied by the Treasury Department, and to the erection of a new building for the use of the Treasury Department, to the Select Committee on the Public Buildings.

*Resolved*, That the said Select Committees have leave to report by bill or otherwise.

#### PROTEST

OF THE

#### DEMOCRACY OF THE STATE OF MISSISSIPPI,

*In Convention assembled, against the Proceedings of certain of their Public Servants in the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States.*

To the SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

To the HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

To the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

To the GOVERNORS of the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Louisiana; and to the GOVERNORS of the Territories of Michigan, Arkansas and Florida—*Greeting:*

The undersigned, delegates recently chosen by the Democracy of the State of Mississippi, to assemble in Convention at the town of Jackson, to represent them in matters touching their political welfare, having ample knowledge of the political sentiments of the people of every county in the State, and duly authorized to represent them in said Convention—do, hereby, on behalf and in the name of the Democracy of Mississippi, SOLEMNLY PROTEST against the proceedings of the Senators from Mississippi, George Poindexter and John Black, and against one of the Representatives from Mississippi, during the last session of Congress, as regards the support given by the said Senators and said Representative to the pretensions of that corrupt and corrupting institution, the United States Bank, and as regards the opposition manifested by the said Senators and Representative to the truly republican administration of our beloved, patriotic and Democratic chief magistrate, ANDREW JACKSON.

The undersigned, for and in behalf of the Democracy of Mississippi, protest against the said acts of their Senators and their Representative, as being in direct opposition to the will and wishes of a large majority of the freemen of Mississippi—and in violation of the pledges, expressed and implied, which the people of Mississippi received from the said Senators and the said Representative prior to their elections to Congress. Because, the said Senators and Representative, each and every one of them, anterior to his election, *did profess* attachment to the measures and principles of the present administration of the General Government—*did pretend* friendship for the venerable patriot and Chief Magistrate at the head of the Government—and *did induce* the good citizens of Mississippi to believe that if elected to the high trust of representing Mississippi in Congress, that each and every one of them would be a faithful representative of republican principles—would assist our Democratic Chief Magistrate in correcting Federal abuses, and would bring the power and influence of the State in support of those Democratic principles against which, one of the Senators, George Poindexter, before his election and his apostacy, foretold that there would be "an organized opposition formidable for its talents and its numbers, equipped and ready for action." But the journals of the proceedings of both houses of Congress during the recent session, clearly demonstrate to the people of Mississippi the mortifying truth, that the said Senators, George Poindexter and John Black, *did oppose* the measures and principles of the present administration—*did unite* themselves with Federalists and nullifiers, under the assumed name of Whigs, *did abandon* the purposes of a Federal monied power, in violation to the Constitution, and in open hostility to the best interests of the republican institutions of our fathers; *did throw aside* their assumed friendship for the Democratic Chief Magistrate and his republic-

can administration—*did vote* a condemnatory sentence on the President, without stating expressly for what they condemned him: *did bring* the power and influence of Mississippi to aid and abet that very opposition which George Poindexter was especially elected to oppose, *did league themselves* with it; *did assist* in organizing, equipping and making it ready for action in its unhallowed attempt to overthrow the present democratical administration, and establish on its ruins a monied oligarchy, the most odious and despicable of all tyrannies.

The Democracy of the State of Mississippi, deeply mortified at the coalition of their said representatives in Congress with their political enemies, the anti-republican or Bank party, and unwilling to submit in tame silence to the disgrace of being transmitted to posterity in the public records of Congress and the annals of their country, arrayed on the side of quondam Federalists, Nullifiers, and the advocates of an aristocratical monied corporation, in the war waged against republicanism in the eventful period of 1834—do now before the world, SOLEMNLY PROTEST against the said acts of their said Senators and Representative in Congress as the acts of *faithless* public agents, done in violation of the public sentiment of the people of Mississippi, and at no time countenanced, encouraged or justified by them, and consequently without excuse or palliation. In exercising the republican privilege of protesting against the proceedings of their public agents, the democracy of Mississippi do not claim the power of displacing those agents from office, however delinquent, misguided, or weak minded they may be, until the regular term of service for which they were elected, expires; nor do they claim the right of annulling the acts of those agents duly commissioned by them, although those acts may be against their will and interests, until they can constitutionally and legally do so by electing other agents more trustworthy. They claim the privilege of protesting against the acts of public servants as a constitutional and democratic measure, from which their public servants, *if injustice be done to them, can always appeal to the ballot box*. The Democracy of Mississippi believe, that the method of procedure by protest of constituents, whether of the majority or minority, against the acts of their representatives, to be a peaceful, just and democratical procedure, and they would deprecate all acts of violence, whether coming from the majority or minority, *such as were lately put in force against a democratic representative from the State of Maine, by the minority or Bank portion of his constituents*, as anti-republican and unworthy of an enlightened and free people.

Entertaining these views, the Democracy of the State of Mississippi, in Convention assembled, respectfully request of the Senate of the United States to cause this their protest to be entered on the journals of their proceedings; to the end that that important branch of the Federal Government may know, that if the sovereign people of Mississippi could have been present, during the recent session, they would not have voted as the Senators from Mississippi voted;—they would not have voted that the President had acted in derogation to the laws and Constitution, without specifying *what laws or what part of the Constitution* he had violated. They would not have voted a condemnatory sentence on any public officer or even private citizen, without giving him an opportunity to be heard in his defence, and without having some specific accusation against him—*specific as to time, place, and circumstance*. They would not have voted to reject the President's protest; *because* by doing so, they would have rejected the privilege of appeal from an ex-parte trial. They would not have voted to admit those persons to appear as witnesses, accusers and prosecutors whom the Constitution has expressly appointed to act in the capacity of judges in all cases relating to the trial of the Chief Magistrate of this confederacy. They would not have voted to reject the protest, *because the right of protest and remonstrance is one of those unalienable and sacred rights essential to the very existence of our republican institutions*.

They believe that in the United States system of government, the legislative executive and judicial departments are *coequal departments*,—that the officers filling each department are the servants of the people of the several states. The authorities and powers of each department are described and marked out by that sacred instrument, the CONSTITUTION, made and framed by the people of the several States in whom sovereignty alone resides. They believe that neither department of the General Government has the right or the power to control the other departments, except in the manner and to the degree the constitution has prescribed: that each department is coequal, and has the right and power of judging for itself, acting for itself and interpreting the constitution as it understands it, amenable only to the power which created it;—otherwise the departments could not be co-ordinate and independent. When one department encroaches upon another, the functionaries of the department encroached upon have the right of protest, and are in duty bound to exercise it. The question of encroachment or usurpation then comes be-



fore the common superior, *the sovereign People of the several States*, whose judgment is final and settles the question, without violence or physical force. The democracy of Mississippi would not have voted for the rejection of the protest of the executive department, against what its chief officer considered to be an encroachment upon the immunities and privileges of that co-ordinate department, as George Poindexter and John Black, voted; *because* by doing so, they would have voted for the rejection of a right, which more than any other distinguishes the peculiar features and excellency of our republican system of government from all others, which have preceded it, and from all other systems of government under the sun. Other governments, whether republican, aristocratical or monarchical, by making one department *supreme* in the last resort, or by having no common umpire to decide controversies between its own functionaries, have fallen into the arms of despotism, by encroachments of one department on the others; or have been from time to time convulsed with revolutions and suffered all the evils of anarchy and civil wars. The United States system of government, by making the departments *coequal*—by giving to *neither supreme authority over any other*, but by giving to *each* the right of understanding the constitution for itself and acting for itself, with the right of protest against usurpations, places all controversies arising among the several functionaries, who administer its respective coequal departments, immediately before the authority which created the government, who decide the matter in dispute without the necessity of revolution or civil strife. The right of protest brings the controversy before the people. The great mass of people have no higher ambition than that of living under a good government, a government which makes all safe in their individual rights and gives to no man or set of men, *Bank men or anti-Bank men*, exclusive privileges and advantages by law, which others do not possess. When a complaint comes before them from any of their public servants, who manage for the time being any of the co-ordinate departments of their government, protesting against the acts of any other public servants as usurpations on the rights, privileges and duties constitutionally assigned to them; or from any of the State governments, protesting against the encroachments of the Federal power, the people of the several States, whose interests it is, that their admirable system of government should continue to harmonize in all its parts and preserve its checks and balances, decide the controversy between their functionaries, as impartial judges, and thereby put down usurpation *here*, silence all cause of complaint *there*, correct abuses *every where* and use no other weapon than truth and justice. Such is the excellency of the United States system of government, a machine that winds itself up, that ages will yet pass by before it attracts from its own citizens and the world all the admiration it justly merits.—The right of protest, like the right of instruction, being a vital spring, which harmonizes its motions and makes them perpetual, the Democracy of Mississippi would not have voted to reject, and must disavow its rejection by their servants in Congress. So far from viewing the right of protest as the Senators from Mississippi seemed to view the right, when recently exercised by the President of the United States, as an unwarrantable usurpation in the executive, their constituents, the people of Mississippi, (and they hope the democracy of these United States,) view the right of protest as a main pillar, supporting the fabric of popular institutions, and as such they are unwilling to see it hewn down, under what seems to them an uncalled for and mistaken zeal, to correct executive usurpations,—executive usurpations too, against the Bank, the very Bank, which is itself the most monstrous of all usurpations. Nor would the people of Mississippi have voted to reject the nomination of Roger B. Taney as Secretary of the Treasury, as their Senators, George Poindexter and John Black voted, unless some reason for doing so had been apparent, other than that an aristocratical and unconstitutional corporation had *so willed it*;—a corporation, which refused the Representatives of the nation access to its archives,—prescribed terms to a proud and powerful republic, as if it, the mere creature of that republic, were a *coequal sovereignty*;—as if its self elected, proxy President and board of directors, the hired agents of the foreign and domestic capitalists who hold the stock, the mere clerks behind the counter to do their bidding, stood on an equal footing with the patriotic and high minded Representatives in Congress, of twelve millions of freemen! A corporation, which has dared to place its private will above public code,—which has, under pretence of damages sustained by the French Bill, seized on the public revenue to satisfy its own claims; being its own judge, jury, witness and executioner—an act of violence, which the soldiers of the revolution and of the late war, who so often suffered damages in their persons and in their property, and had claims against their government, never dared perpetrate even with arms in their hands! never dared seize on any *public property* to secure payment for *private demands*; never dared retain the public monies in their hands; claim the ships of war in which they sailed; the arsenals

and public stores entrusted to their care; the forts and strong holds they had been appointed to command.

The Democracy of the State of Mississippi in Convention assembled, respectfully request of the House of Representatives of the United States, that this their Protest be entered on the journals of their proceedings; to the end that that patriotic body may know, that although one of the Representatives from Mississippi *was not with them* in the noble stand they made, during the recent session of Congress, against a monied power, which every where spread panic, distress and dismay, as far as it had ability to do so, throughout our prosperous country and sought its own power and aggrandizement at the expense of millions of unoffending citizens, *was not with them*, his constituents, the freemen of Mississippi *were!* yea, with them in heart and soul, willing to have borne seventy times seven-fold the distress they did bear, or all the Banks together could inflict, sooner than see the chosen representatives of a proud nation of freemen *overawed by an irresponsible company of money changers, and forced to re-charter a corporation at open war with free Government.*

The Democracy of the State of Mississippi assembled in convention, respectfully request of Andrew Jackson, President of the United States, that this their Protest be entered on the journals of the Executive proceedings; to the end that, that faithful public servant, ever true to his country, ever ready to bare his bosom in his country's defence and ever dear to those to whom Liberty and Democracy are dear, may know, *that those who were with him* where he vanquished the victorious army of Wellington seeking the Booty and Beauty of the emporium of the South—*with him*, when the Indian tomahawk was red with the blood of the women and children of Mississippi,—*with him* in that dark hour, when the storm of war beat the heaviest from without, and faction raged the fiercest within,—*with him* when the voice of the great Northern orator, the present attorney of the Bank, *now so loud in time of peace and prosperity in raising alarms to frighten the Democracy into the support of his client the Bank*, was, then in time of war and *real danger*, heard reverberating with blighting influence through the halls of Congress, sinking the heart of the patriot with sarcastic abuse of the war and unnerving the arm of his country's defenders *by denying supplies* to a hungry army, exposed to winter's frosts with threadbare garments!—*with him* in the forests of Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, and Florida, oftentimes with nothing but parched corn and acorns for food, at the very time when many of the Federalists, who are now called whigs, were raising their blue lights as beacons of welcome to the enemy, talking of re-colonization and assembling in convention at Hartford;—that he, Andrew Jackson may know, *that those who were with him THEN are with him NOW*, with him in sentiment and soul, during his perilous struggle of last winter against the money monster, and *will be with him*, so long as he is, *where he always has been*, with his Country, Liberty, and Democracy.

The Democracy of the State of Mississippi moreover request, that this their Protest, be entered on the journals of the Executive, that future Presidents of these United States may be encouraged fearlessly to discharge their duties, to act on their own convictions of right and wrong, unawed by any other Department of the Government, by any coalition of *ambitious men* or by the power and influence of *soulless corporations*; but with an eye single to their country's glory, with a fearless disregard of self, of fame, of popularity, of personal ease, of timid councils, *to let all the ends they aim at be their country's and a virtuous people WILL SUSTAIN THEM.* The Democracy of the State of Mississippi in Convention assembled, respectfully request of the Governors of the several States and Territories of this confederacy, to lay this their Protest before their respective State and Territorial Legislatures to be recorded among the archives of the several State institutions, to the end, that each State and Territory, *now and hereafter*, may know the true sentiments of the people of Mississippi and the side they espoused in the war, now waged by the combined forces of Federalism, Nullification, and a Monied Aristocracy, against the existing authorities of a Republican Government and the principles upon which it is founded.

That the causes which have led to this method of procedure against the acts of the delinquent Representatives of Mississippi may more fully appear, and the objects in view be more clearly elucidated, the convention deem it necessary to explain to the several members of this confederacy and the Territories thereof, the circumstances under which the Democracy of the State of Mississippi have seen cause to issue this their Protest. The regular elections of Mississippi and the sessions of the Legislature are biennial, and the latter does not take place until the year 1836. After it was clearly ascertained, that three-fourths of the delegation in Congress from Mississippi had betrayed the trusts the Democracy had reposed in them, had gone over to the service of the United States Bank and leagued themselves with the anti-republican party in opposition to the Democratical ad-

ministration they were elected to support, the Democracy of the State of Mississippi elected delegates to a Convention, which assembled in the month of June last, at Jackson, with special reference to the delinquency of the said delegation, with a view to adopt such measures as the interest and the honor of the State demanded. The Convention expressed their decided disapprobation of the conduct of the delinquent senators and representative in Congress, and invited them to resign as an act of justice to *their own characters* and *the character* of the sovereign State they had been chosen to represent. After the adjournment of the Convention of June, the delinquent Senators and Representative returned to the State and instead of resigning as three-fourths of the people of Mississippi required, they held on to office with anti-republican pertinacity. They not only disregarded the acts and proceedings of the Convention of June, which represented the great mass of the people, the very people, who had given them office, but they flung themselves into the arms of their former enemies the minority, composed of National Republicans, Nullifiers, and the Bank Aristocracy, combined together under the name of Whigs, not exceeding, *when all are told*, one-fourth part of the population of Mississippi. By this anti-republican minority the apostate delegation were *feasted, toasted, and led about in noisy triumph!* It is proper to state, in order that justice may be done to all men, that this minority, though small and insignificant in numbers, are generally respectable, talented, influential and wealthy,—that they have almost an entire control over the Press and the Banking institutions of the State, that they are the principal persons who travel from home, have correspondents in other States, or receive and fall in with visitors from abroad, and consequently they have exerted an undue influence in misrepresenting the public sentiment of Mississippi to the nation at large. They moreover have done all, that a wealthy and influential minority with the Banks and the Press at their command could do, to encourage the apostate Senators and Representative to be more bold and reckless in misrepresenting the State in Congress. In these circumstances, neither Congress, the United States Bank nor the nation at large, have had a fair opportunity of knowing any thing of the public sentiment of the great mass of freemen of Mississippi, that overwhelming majority of free citizens, "who rely for their support on their own honest industry, who love their independence better than money, who ask favors from no man, but demand justice from all, who have ever been foremost in defending their country and the last to disturb its peace." This class of people, constituting more than three-fourths of the population of the State, and being largely in the majority in every county in the State, save only one or two border counties, about equally divided, the seats of the money changers and the residence of the Federal Aristocracy, are not only republican in sentiment, but have altered the organic law of Mississippi and have made it one of the most Democratic States in the Union. Therefore to the end, that Mississippi, one of the most Democratic States in the Union, may no longer be used as a whip in the hands of the anti-republican and Bank party to scourge the Democracy of other States and frighten them from their purpose; to the end, that Andrew Jackson, who has so often in defence of Mississippi, periled life, and fame, and fortune, and led her sons to victory—shall no longer be taunted by the Bank and its anti-republican satellites with the disaffection of Mississippians; to the end, that it shall no longer be said, that those who know him best, and for whom he has done the most, both in the Cabinet and in the field; and whose wise policy has filled the vast Indian wilds of Mississippi with the busy hum of civilized freemen, are most opposed to his Democratical administration; and to the end, that, in the present great struggle of the Democracy of this great nation against anti-republicanism and the Bank monster,—that of Mississippi, by reason of the defalcation and apostasy of her public agents in Congress, cannot at the present time, *take a hand and act her own proper part*, that the friends of freedom every where may at least know the true sentiments of her people, and hear her voice encouraging them to rest not, so long as one stone of the United States Bank remains upon another, COMES THIS PROTEST.

For the truth of which, to the best of their knowledge and belief, particularly as regards the political sentiments of a large and powerful majority of the People of Mississippi, the undersigned pledge themselves individually, as men, and have hereunto authorized the Convention to subscribe their names.

Done in Convention, at the Town of Jackson, in the Capital of the State of Mississippi, on the 5th day of November, in the Year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, and of the Independence of the United States the fifty-ninth.

THOMAS HINDS, President.

M. F. DEGRAFFENRIED, }  
H. G. RUNNELS, } Vice Presidents.  
G. R. FALL, }

JNO. H. MALLORY, Secretary.

[Here follows the names of each member of the Convention.]